1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Perry's men, the aspect of these villages was one of rare and romantic beauty.[3]

2

Hanashiro

Hanashiro is a small village of the cluster type in Gushichan township (Gushichan-son) in the southeastern part of Okinawa.[4] It is on the present Highway 64 which begins on the Chinen peninsula, travels southwesterly, following the coast at a distance to Mabuni in the southeast, then crossing the island to Nagushiku town, a village south of Itoman.

The village and its surroundings are small in area, the actual town site including various village owned properties, taking up slightly over 22 acres. This is an agricultural village, with the exception of minor activities such as storekeeping and rice milling. As of December 31, 1951 it had a population of 589 (269 male, 320 female), living together in 120 households, an average of 4.9 persons per household.

The village is believed to have been founded about 400 years ago. By Okinawan standards this is not very old. It is off the main historical road which ran from Naha to Shuri to Kochinda, Gushichan, Minatogawa, through Tamagusuku township to the Chinen peninsula, probably the road travelled by Okinawan kings up to the latter part of the seventeenth century when they prayed at the altars on Kudaka Island.[5] There were in this area a series of castles on the tops of hills commanding the road and its approaches, the castles, the rough determinants of various regions formerly under a regional nobility. To the west there was Kochinda castle, Tamagusuku on the east, Gushichan castle near Hanashiro, where a surviving stone fence can still be seen, and the castle site of Itokazu. There is reason for believing, as we mentioned in Chapter 1, that this is in the general area of oldest settlement in the island.

[Text continues on P. 49 --analyst]

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. I, 163, 164, 179-80, and an illustration of a "cung-qua" on p. 180. On the older village with granaries and storehouses, see Green's remarks in Hawks, Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. II, 34, 36, and illustration in Vol. I, 178.

4 The village is also known as Hanagusuku: the meaning is the same, as shiro is the Japanese, gusuku the Okinawan word for castle. Many Okinawan place names have the suffix, --gusuku.

5 Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo, as cited, 107.

The people of Nagamo are farmers. The seat of their extended families is in Naha and Shuri, and they have their own local deity places (ujigami in Japanese). The people of Minatogawa are fishermen, their extended family seats are in Itoman. They too have their local deities and many of their religious ceremonies are centered around the gods of the sea and the dragon of the sea god's palace.

The population of Minatogawa, as of December 31, 1951, was 1108 (515 males, 593 females) in 213 households, an average of 5.2 persons per household, and of adjoining Nagamo, 564 persons (262 males, 302 females) with 113 households, an average of 5.0 persons per household.

The fishing village of Minatogawa is believed to be about 250 years old. It was founded, according to local residents, by the fishermen of Itoman who were accustomed to fish off shore near the islands around the southeastern and southwestern parts of Okinawa. The place was first established as a temporary location for the fishing boats and later permanent settlement took place. The tombs of Itoman are still the ultimate burying ground for large numbers of the Minatogawa fishermen. After 250 years the ties with the parent town are still strong.

The village has two traditions involving contacts with other peoples. The first is concerned with the Chinese. One is a spot on the shore where some Chinese are said to have landed over 200 years ago. Many fishermen pray to it on certain occasions of the year. Little is known of what happened to the Chinese, but supposedly they were buried high up the side of a steep mountain nearby, inside a cave with stalactites. Bones said to be of these Chinese may still be seen there. The cave is difficult of access.

There is also the tradition of London sailors said to have been shipwrecked at the port of Kiyan on the southwest tip of Okinawa. A child was born of the union of one of these sailors with an Okinawan woman and the sailor later returned to England. The tomb of the woman and the child is revered as a religious site. It is now a small shrine on the outskirts of Itoman called Rondongama, Rondon for London.[9] Old women of Minatogawa sing a song of this old love called Michinakankai. The theme of the song is the unashamed love of the woman for her departed London lover, an Okinawan anticipation of Madame Butterfly.

In this area the low, bare hills form in a haphazard way a series of valleys, some long and narrow, others like an amphitheatre with an open face to the sea. Low passes connect the valleys. One such pass, about 150 feet high, now on Highway 6A, leads from the valley of

[Text continues on Top of P. 53--Analyst]

9 The writer visited both the cave and the site near Itoman town in August 1951. The shrine is now situated on a small hill on the outskirts of Itoman. The bones were moved here during the war from Haizato village to escape Japanese bombing. A large cave nearby, associated with the mother and the child, is overgrown and very dangerous to enter because of the danger of snakes.

engaged in fishing are permanent or transient families originally from Itoman, a place name which comes up whenever fishing is mentioned anywhere in Okinawa. Agriculture and the care and utilization of the community forest make up the significant economic activities of the village.

Matsuda had a population of 1370 individuals (604 male, 766 female) as of November 30, 1951. There were, at this time, 243 households, an average of 5.6 persons per household. The village is said by local residents and antiquarians to be about 600 years old. If the age is correct, it must be one of the older settlements in northern Okinawa. Before the war, this village was known as Kochiya.

Matsuda also has its lore regarding shipwrecks and foreigners. There are old men who believe Perry's party came to the village and that they left carvings on the top of a picturesque rock in the Burushii district along the coast, a not unbelievable story since the explorers certainly were not far from here.

Near the seashore, but in a very remote area, there is a natural bridge, concealed by large trees. Roots of the banyan grow through the thirty or forty foot drop from the top of the bridge until they find root in the soil below. On a ledge under this bridge, there are two old and open boxes which were used to collect the skulls and bones of unknown persons. Locally it is believed that they are the remains of shipwrecked sailors, possibly Hollanders. There are still 25 or 30 skulls there, and many of the bones are scattered on the ground. The place is seldom visited.

The village rests on low rolling hills. The combination of the hills, the depressions, the caves and the sinks give the topography an uneven almost rugged character. There are few flat places and these are seldom wide. They are the narrow meadows or valleys between the hills. The hilly nature of the surroundings determines to a large extent the manner of cultivation, and historically probably has had much to do with the shapes of the individual parcels themselves. One does not see in this area the plains or small valleys with rice cultivation that is observed in Haneji township near Nago or around the island of Ū in Tamagusuku township, or even in the Hanashiro area of Oushichan township. In these communities, the normal pattern of cultivation is that the rice is on the lowlands, with the slopes and upland areas devoted to sugar cane, the sweet potato, or other crops, or left to native grasses. Here in the hundreds of small hills, all of these may be observed in close proximity, hard work and minute tillage comprising with the topography.

The village is subdivided into several distinct areas: (1) the main part of the village where most of the houses, the village office, the small stores, the rice mill, the sawmill, the power plant, and the barbershop are located, (2) a reclaimed area known locally as the kaikon, newly settled and with a different type of land use due to the poorness of the land and to the fact that it is a deforested area, (3) a district near the sea coast and along the sea with scattered settlements, isolated houses, and some cultivation, and (4) the forest lands, which in the

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Generalities on the Population History of Okinawa Island

Virtually nothing is known, to my knowledge, of the growth of population in Okinawa in historic times. Early travellers made some estimates, but they gave no basis for them. In a previous chapter, it was mentioned that the introduction of the sweet potato in the early 17th century must have allowed a greater population on the island than had hitherto been the case. No doubt also malaria and other diseases kept the population down, at least until the latter part of the 19th century.[1] This ignorance of population growth extends down to recent history.

There seems to have been very little immigration to the Ryukyus and the population has probably been homogeneous for long periods of time. There were many Japanese in Okinawa, but these were largely in the towns and main cities. Most of them left after the war.[2] This meant that the population of Okinawa continued to be made up of preponderantly the native born, though in recent years there has been some immigration of Amamians.

Emigration during the 20th century has been the outstanding fact in the population history of the island. Little is known of the nature of this emigration, but it is believed to have started in the early years of the twentieth century. Until World War II, emigration was the answer to the problem of a population that was growing beyond the ability of the island's resources to support it. It has been estimated that the emigration from Okinawa prefecture in the period 1920-1940 was over 193,400 persons. This represented a loss of 98% of the estimated natural increase for the 1920-1940 period. It was 34% of the prefecture's total 1920 population.[3]

The Okinawan campaign, also, was accompanied by large scale displacements of people who remained on the island. It was estimated that in a pre-invasion shifting of the population, over 3/4 of the people

[Text continues on TOP of P. 60--analyst]

1 Dr. Green in 1853 estimated the population of Okinawa at 150,000 or possibly 200,000. But this was only a crude guess. Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 36. For population estimates prior to World War II, see CA Handbook, as cited, 45-51.

2 As of Nov. 30, 1946, 57,345 Japanese, 1,755 Koreans, and 21 Formosans had been repatriated from the Ryukyus, with 3,706 Japanese remaining to be repatriated. See note 3 following.

3 Newman, Marshall T. and Eng, Roman, L. The Ryukyu people, a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of physical anthropology, n.s., 5 (1947), 113-57. Reference on pp. 135-36. This estimate was made by subtracting the estimated natural increase from the total increase, 1920-40, making allowances for the under registration of births. On post-war population history immediately following the war, see pp. 135-46 of this article.

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727 166 were in the north and central portions of the island.[4] During the campaign, the displacements of people and the destruction of villages in the south were particularly striking. Large numbers were sent to the Kunigami region. "There they overwhelmed the local inhabitants and all suffered great privations, despite the efforts of U. S. personnel to properly feed, clothe, and house them." By June 1, 1946, 138,000 had been resettled, and as of July 1 of the same year, there were still 125,000 displaced persons on the island.

167 728 The war and the subsequent occupation have stopped the historic emigration of Okinawans. Repatriation began in 1946. By November 30, 1946, a year and four months after the conclusion of the Okinawan campaign, 183,077 Okinawans had been returned, 142,713 from Japan, 26,003 from the Pacific islands, 12,154 from Formosa, 1954 from Hawaii, and 253 from Korea. An additional 36,720 were awaiting repatriation at this time. The result was that "by November 30, 1946, repatriation brought the population up to within 40,000 of its early 1944 level." The total 161 population of the Ryukyus on February 22, 1944 was given as 857,019, and 817,160 on November 30, 1946. In this short period of 16 months, the war losses had been largely made up. While these figures are Ryukyu totals, Okinawa island, as the largest and most populous island in the chain undoubtedly reflected these trends.[5] According to the 1950 census, the population of Okinawa island was 517,600.

The twentieth century history of the population of Okinawa is therefore one of large scale emigration up to the war, wholesale displacement of people within the island during the campaign of 1945, the repatriation of considerable numbers of Ryukyuans following the conclusion of the war, and the present period of growth of the population under conditions of peace, health measures, and without the historic outlet of emigration.

2

Village Populations and Their Characteristics

162 727 One can only surmise what has happened to the population structure of Okinawan villages as a result of the war. The old records which would furnish materials for detailed comparisons have been destroyed; hence, one can know only vaguely how the present characteristics of village populations compare with the pre-war conditions. The contemporary characteristics of the population of each of the villages studied and for the totals of each of their respective townships are shown in the accompanying population pyramids and in the tables illustrating sex and age distribution at five year age intervals (Western age count).

In the totals of the three villages and the two townships females substantially outnumber males, though there is considerable variation in the numbers and proportions within the age groups.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 61 -- ANALYST]

4 Ibid, 137. Quotation is on pp. 140-41.

5 Newman and Eng, as cited, 140-41, 143. See also the very interesting article of Henry S. Bennett, The impact of invasion and occupation on the civilians of Okinawa. United States Naval Institute Proceedings, 72 (1946), 263-75.

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There are noticeably fewer children of both sexes in the 5-9 age group. These are the children born from about 1942 to 1946. If these statistics are presented in further detail for the age groups under twenty, further distinctions are clear. These are shown in the following table:

Totals	Hanashiro Village			Minatogawa Village			Oushichan Township			Matsuda Village			Ginoza Township		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Under 5 years	118	70	48	198	101	97	1153	606	547	230	120	110	849	446	403
Under 1 yr.	24	14	10	22	12	10	215	112	103	50	30	20	171	89	82
1-4 years	94	56	38	176	89	87	938	494	444	180	90	90	678	357	321
5-9 years	50	25	25	111	63	48	566	285	281	166	79	87	638	306	332
10-14 yrs.	72	32	40	128	53	75	818	393	426	182	84	98	704	336	368

In Oushichan-son, an active theatre of the war, the proportion of the children under 5 to those from five to nine is 2:1. In Ginoza-son, a much less active theatre, the proportion is 1.3: 1. The corresponding figures for the villages are:

Hanashiro (Oushichan township) 2.4 : 1
Minatogawa (Oushichan township) 1.8 : 1
Matsuda (Ginoza township) 1.4 : 1

In every case the totals of the age group of 10-14 are greater than in the 5-9 year group. In all villages, and in both townships, males are more frequent than females in the age group under one year.

The greatest imbalance in the sex ratios is in the age group from 20 to 49; here the females outnumber the males. During the war years, these groups ranged in age from approximately 10-15 to 39-44 years of age. This group now includes the main child bearing part of the population.

After 50 years of age, the balance between the sexes is somewhat restored and, with some minor deviations, they tend to be about equal, with women predominating at the highest age levels, 80 years and over.

These village statistics indicate that the effects of the war were shown in a shortage of males of young and middle age, an excess of women, to which pre-war emigration of men probably also contributed, and the lowered birthrate during the war years and the probable high infant mortality during the Okinawan campaign. The present broad base, represented by those under 5 years of age in the pyramids is indicative of what might be expected under the Occupation, with public health measures and no emigration. The pyramid for Oushichan township is especially striking in the comparison between the under 5 and the 5-9 age group.

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If these figures are typical of Okinawa island, they furnish a hint as to the trend toward population increase, a combination of such circumstances as peace, lack of conscription and foreign service, repatriation,

[Text Continues TOP of P. 65--Analyst]

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX

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Age Group	Hanashiro Village			Minatogawa Village			Gushichan Township			Matsuda Village			Ginoza Township		
	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F
TOTAL	589	269	320	1108	515	593	6267	2898	3369	1370	604	766	5360	2440	2920
Under 5	118	70	48	198	101	97	1153	606	547	230	120	110	819	446	408
5-9	50	25	25	111	63	48	566	285	281	168	80	88	638	305	332
10-14	72	32	40	128	53	75	819	393	426	182	84	98	704	336	368
15-19	83	43	40	107	57	50	741	365	376	152	75	77	633	302	331
20-24	52	22	30	102	50	52	526	237	289	82	28	54	383	150	233
25-29	38	13	25	86	35	51	401	176	225	69	22	47	288	112	176
30-34	32	10	22	68	28	40	398	157	241	53	11	42	256	84	172
35-39	29	17	12	64	33	31	328	141	187	65	20	45	268	108	160
40-44	28	8	20	50	16	34	280	118	162	71	29	42	246	103	143
45-49	18	3	15	46	19	27	250	94	156	50	16	34	232	88	144
50-54	22	7	15	38	19	19	225	93	132	73	40	33	228	127	101
55-59	15	8	7	35	18	17	205	93	112	47	24	23	186	101	85
60-64	18	5	13	26	10	16	150	64	86	35	11	24	145	58	87
65-69	9	5	4	19	10	9	99	42	57	31	15	16	110	46	64
70-74	1	1	0	14	1	13	67	22	45	31	14	17	90	37	53
75-79	3	0	3	6	1	5	33	9	24	16	5	11	55	20	35
80-84	1	0	1	7	0	7	19	2	17	13	9	4	42	17	25
85 & over	0	0	0	3	1	2	7	1	6	2	1	1	12	4	8

Statistics for Hanashiro, Minatogawa, and Gushichan-son are as of December 31, 1951. Those for Matsuda and Ginoza-son are as of November 30, 1951. Source: Township offices (yakuba) at Gushichan and Ginoza villages.

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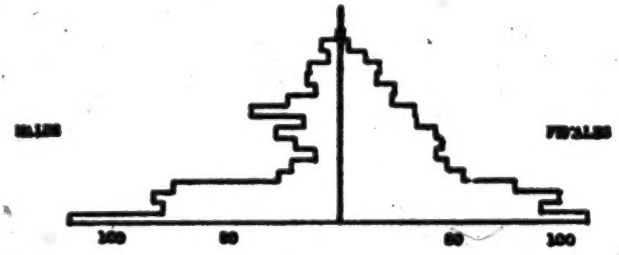
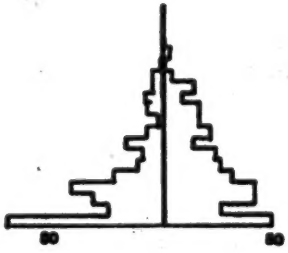
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX
(Pyramids based on previous table)



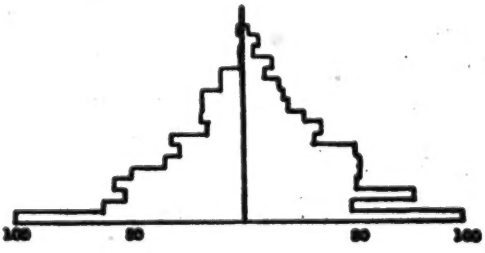
85 and over
75-79
65-69
55-59
45-49
35-39
25-29
15-19
5-9
Under 5

HATOMA VILLAGE



85 and over
75-79
65-69
55-59
45-49
35-39
25-29
15-19
5-9
Under 5

HARAMIZU VILLAGE



85 and over
75-79
65-69
55-59
45-49
35-39
25-29
15-19
5-9
Under 5

NISHITOSHIMA VILLAGE

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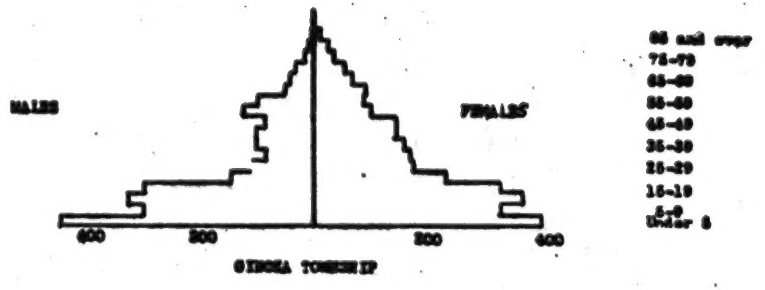
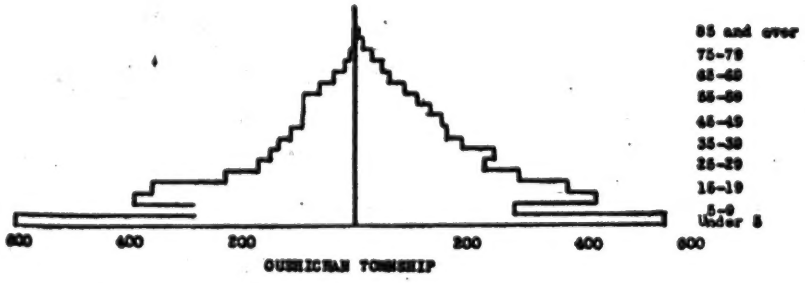


OTSUKA TOWNSHIP



OSHIKIBAN TOWNSHIP

plus the excess of births over deaths were sufficient six years after the conclusion of the war to bring the post-war population of the village within 200 of the pre-war level.

Okinawans returning to Hanashiro came largely from Japan, the Philippines, Manchuria, Formosa, the South Seas and a few from Hawaii. From Hinatogawa, the areas of former settlement were broader, probably reflecting a wider activity of the fishermen. They came from Java, Palau, Singapore, the Philippine Islands, and Taraua. Some had previously returned voluntarily from Hawaii and Peru before the war. The largest segments came from the Philippines and Taraua, the smaller groups from Hawaii and Peru. The repatriates to Matsuda also came from Japan, the Philippines, Hawaii, and the South Seas.

One consequence of the pre-war emigration and of the repatriation that followed was that each village after the war had a group of people who had been in foreign countries or had relatives still residing in foreign areas.

In the villages studied, according to the residents living there now, repatriation was not accompanied by the tensions and the ill feeling that was so conspicuous in post-war Europe, especially Germany. There were no cliques between those who had stayed during the war and those who returned to live beside them.

The reasons for this are probably these: many of the repatriates even though absent a long time owned land in a village. This was true of Hanashiro and Matsuda, the agricultural villages, and to a lesser extent of Hinatogawa. Some adjustments were necessary. The land owned by these people had not been idle during their absence. If a first son returned, in most cases his younger brother was cultivating the fields and occupying the family house. He, in the absence of his eldest brother, acted as head of the house. When the first son returned, he received the possessions and assumed the responsibilities of the head of the house, and in turn gave his younger brother land to establish a branch household. When the returned member of the family was a second son, the adjustment was easier. The first son, if possible, gave his younger brother a house site and fields to cultivate.[6]

Other relatives, parents, younger or older sisters, nephews, or nieces were absorbed within the family, the parents or grandparents resuming a retirement which they would have had in any case, while the younger relatives became working and contributing members to the family. They did not come back to an altogether strange place. They or their parents had been born there, and their names had remained in the village family register.

6 The reasons for these acts will be made clear in Chapter 6 on the family system.

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HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS NOW RESIDING IN HANASHIRO AND MATSUDA
(Classified according to their relationship to the previous head)

Relationship	Hanashiro	Matsuda
First Son	81	61
Second Son	16	41
Third Son	6	16
Fourth Son	2	11
Fifth Son	0	6
Sixth Son	1	1
Seventh Son	0	1
First Daughter	11	29
Second Daughter	1	8
Third Daughter	0	7
Fourth Daughter	0	5
Fifth Daughter	0	0
Sixth Daughter	0	2
Illegitimate Son	0	1
No Data	3	18
Totals:	121	207
Male	106	138
Female	12	51
No Data	3	18

Source: Analysis of village family registers (koseki in Japanese) as of August 1951 for Hanashiro, December 1951 for Matsuda. The figures for Matsuda are incomplete and represent 207 of the 243 households in the village. One volume of the Matsuda family register was lost or not available at this time. Minatogawa data are not available from the new register compiled following the destruction of the old one in the war.

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FAMILY COMPOSITION OF THE VILLAGES

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FAMILY HEAD	NUMBER IN THE FAMILY 1			2			3		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Single Heads:									
Male	4	10	11						
Female	4	12	12						
Male Heads with:									
Wife only				2	23	19			
Wife and Children Only							8	19	20
Wife, Childr, Other Rels									
Wife and Other Rels								3	1
Child or Children Only				1	1	2			1
Children and Other Rels						2		3	
Other Relatives Only				2	2		9	3	
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children Only				1	8	8		9	13
Children and Other Rels					1	1	2	4	
Other Relatives Only				4	1	1	1		1

	4			5			6		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:									
Wife only									
Wife and Children only	13	20	10	7	13	16	3	10	11
Wife, Childr, Other Rels		1	4	2	8	6	1	9	4
Wife and Other Rels	1	1		1			1		1
Child or Children Only	1			1					
Children and Other Rels	1	1		1	2				
Other Relatives Only	6	3	2	6			1	2	1
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children Only		9	5		7	8		2	1
Children and Other Rels		3	2		4	1	1	5	
Other Relatives Only	1		1						

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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FAMILY COMPOSITION OF THE VILLAGES, con'td.

FAMILY HEAD	NUMBER IN THE FAMILY 7			8			9		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:									
Wife only									
Wife and Children only	3	7	8	4	3	4	1	1	2
Wife, Childr, Other Rels	5	7	4	1	5	3	4	3	6
Wife and Other Rels									
Child or Children Only	1								
Children and Other Rels	2	1		2		1			
Other Relatives Only	1				1				
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children only		1	4		1			2	
Children and Other Rels									
Other Relatives only					1				

	10			11			12		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:									
Wife Only									
Wife and Children only	1								
Wife, Childr, Other Rels	3	1	2	3	3	3	1		3
Wife and other Rels									
Other Relatives Only									
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children only									
Children and Other Rels						1			
Other Relatives only									

	13			14		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:						
Wife only						
Wife and Children only						
Wife, Childr, Other Rels	1	1			1	
Wife and other Rels	1					
Other Relatives only						
Children and Other Rels	1					

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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SUMMARY

	Total	Single Heads	Male Family Heads	Female Family Heads
Hanashiro	120	8	102	10
Minatogawa	238	22	158	58
Matsuda	207	23	137	47

Note: This and the preceding tables represent: (a) 120 of the 120 households of Hanashiro as of December 31, 1951, (b) 207 of the 243 households of Matsuda, since one volume of the register was not available, and (c) 238 listings from Minatogawa, while there are only 213 households. As far as could be determined, there are 238 heads of a family (koshu) who are living in 213 households (kosu). There is thus some doubling up, probably among the female heads who are living in the houses of relatives. A house or a residence in the physical sense may thus have one or more heads of houses or families, just as two families might live in the same house anywhere. No attempt therefore has been made to reconcile the differences.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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Mother of head, age 48
Grandfather of head, age 65
Younger brother, age 25
Younger brother, age 16
Younger sister, age 9
Younger sister, age 11
Younger brother's wife, age 25
Two nieces, ages 4 and 2, daughters of the eldest younger brother and his wife.

These examples, of which many more could be given, illustrate several points regarding the family system. It is not uncommon to have as many as four generations in a family unit, the present head, his parent, the children, and the grandchildren of the head. There are four generations in illustration #3. The combination of a first son and his wife, with his parents, his younger brothers and sisters, and the head's own children, a common composition, illustrates the responsibilities of the first son both to his parents and to his siblings. Responsibility for illegitimate children is with the family of the girl. Occasionally a husband will accept an illegitimate child born to his wife either before or during the marriage, but it is more usual for the illegitimate child to be reared in the household from which the mother came. In the second illustration, one illegitimate daughter lives with her grandparents and the mother is not in the household. The third illustration shows an unusual situation in which the young head and his wife have their children, his mother, his grandfather, minor younger sisters and brothers, and, in addition, a married younger brother and his wife and their two children. Ordinarily these would have established a branch family and not have been part of the older brother's household.

At present, the commonest family compositions are (1) the biological family, (2) the family with a young eldest son as the head with the widowed mother and other minor brothers and sisters, a type of composition which has increased as a result of the war, (3) uncles, aunts, cousins, and occasionally unrelated persons may live in the house, (4) often grandparents are found with their grandchildren, (5) widows with minor children are also common, an incidence increased by war.

The percentage of widows in Hinatogawa, in addition to the casualties of war, is due to the loss of fishermen at sea, a not uncommon tragedy as the typhoon season coincides with the best fishing seasons. Since widows with children seldom remarry, the family composition remains the same until the first son assumes the leadership of the family and the mother resides with him.

Each of the families making up the extended family is either a main or a branch family. This arrangement is repeated in the individual families as well. If we take as an example a family with both parents, a first son, a second son, and a first daughter, we may expect as a normal development that the eldest son will marry between 24 and 27 and live with his wife at the home of his parents, that the father will

848 [927] [160]

war.[5] The reasons given by the villagers are the increase in the number of widows and the present disproportion between young men and young women in the marrying ages.

One cannot generalise about attitudes toward illegitimacy. In two of the communities, Hinatogawa and Matsuda, my impression was that there had been a change from disapproval to tolerance. The current reaction was often described in the famous Japanese phrase which covers thousands of situations: shi kata ga nai ("It can't be helped"). In Hanashiro, opinion seemed much stronger against extra-marital relations and having an illegitimate child. One housewife said that any married woman or single woman who has an illegitimate child is dirty (kitanai). This was not so much a moral condemnation as the notion that she was unclean. Such a woman is spoken to but is not liked. There is also the problem that in the family system there is no place for an illegitimate child, unacknowledged by the father, except to grow up in the household of his mother. There is no public concealment. The village family register has the shisei ji entry for any illegitimate child--and some of them are now very old men.

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5 These and the following statements are necessarily qualitative as statistics were not available. Illegitimacy here refers to Okinawan parents. To my knowledge, in these villages, there were no children whose fathers had been members of the occupying forces. Some apparent illegitimacy may occur when the marriage is recorded after the birth of a child (a common practice) and the register is not corrected. For this reason, it was difficult to evaluate the illegitimate entries in the family registers.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

the war, the upper stratum of society consisted of Japanese plus a few highly placed Okinawans. With the departure of the Japanese, there was no well developed class structure among the Okinawans to succeed to the Japanese hierarchy. Today in these villages, there are inequalities in economic well-being, and certain individuals or groups have greater prestige than others. But these, I am convinced, are not to be traced to a class structure. Any division of the village into upper, middle, and lower classes would be artificial and would put a strain on the facts. Differences, where they appear, are the result of individual qualities, such as age, the possession of land or money, or personal character.

In the old Loochooan kingdom, there was a rigid class stratification based on the Chinese model. The Japanese abolished the Loochoo nobility after the islands became a province, but, according to Furness (1899), "the people still cling to the old custom."[1] Despite the abolition of the nobility, distinctions between noble and commoner were made up to the recent war. In the family registers, descendants of the Loochooan nobility (shizoku) were so designated. But all villagers agreed that these distinctions had no meaning or value, either for preferment in the Japanese service, or for one's social standing among his countrymen. For all practical purposes, everyone was a commoner. Since the war, the fact that one is a descendant of the Okinawan nobility is, if possible, even more inconsequential. No notation is made in the family register. Most men over 35 can tell instantly whether a given surname is of noble or common origin.

The number of these descendants of nobles must be very great. Chamberlain in 1895 reproduced a table, which he said he had every reason to believe was accurate, showing an absurdly high proportion of nobles to commoners. These statistics were from the census of 1891 and for the entire Ryukyus:[2]

	Household Heads	Families
Princes	2	35
Nobility and Gentry	22,567	95,082
Common People	57,981	235,213
Total	80,550	330,330

1 Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 7. For rank distinctions based on caps, stockings, sashes, and hair pins, see Simon, as cited, 155, 156-59. Hawk's Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. I, 224, Vol. II, 48. Basil Hall also gives rank orders in an appendix. Perry considered government by this nobility very oppressive. The CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands gives the historical background of the class structure and its manifestations in government.

2 In the article cited from the Geo. Jour. 5 (1895), 298.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 / AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

is one of the rare, desired body attributes. It was the opinion of some that the descendants of the noble families who came from Shuri, however, are taller and slender, with a prominent, curved nasal ridge.

Until they feel confident in the presence of strangers, Taira people appear quiet and restrained. It is considered a virtue not to show one's emotions, and Tairans consider the expressiveness of Americans childish. Actually they are gay, talkative, and given to laughter, especially the women. Men are quiet unless stimulated by alcohol, but both men and women may lose their composure in emergencies. A notable exception is their placid reactions to the threat of disaster from the ever recurrent violent storms.

THE COMMUNITY, ITS HISTORY AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Taira is one of the northern villages on the northeast coast of Okinawa in Higashi township (see map 1). Today it is home to over 700 people who make their living—as did their ancestors since early times—from the surrounding fields, forests, and from the sea. The Okinawan name for the village, Taira, means "sloping fields." The character used for writing the prevalent Japanese version, Taira, means "flat, plain, good."

Since the family records were lost during World War II, it is necessary to depend on oral traditions for reconstruction of the history of Taira. Unfortunately, the desire of many Okinawans to establish a relationship between their local families and the former royal courts casts some doubt on the accuracy of these traditions.

According to these traditions, the first village to be settled in the vicinity of Taira was the neighboring community Kawata. After the Hokuzan kingdom in Nakijin (on the northwestern Motobu Peninsula) was conquered by the southern Okinawan kingdom of Chuzan in the fifthteenth century (Kerr, 1958:85), the second son of the Lord of Hokuzan is said to have escaped northward into Kunigami province. Unitokogami, the fleeing nobleman, arrived near the present site of Kawata and established himself in a cave around the year 1477. He is still revered today as founder of the village in a yearly spring ceremony when prayers are said in front of the cave. The oldest Taira families trace their descent in the male line from Nizenya, the "main house," he founded. Taira was settled around 1550 by two families tracing descent from this "main house." The descendents of these settlers are

the community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles from the center (see map 1), the houses are scattered between the paddies or farm lands in sections which form subvillages or wards. As mentioned above, settlers from the south took up residence in these areas. Recently families from the main village have also moved to the more remote parts of the community, such as Udenaha, because they can reach their fields more conveniently. Although the name Taira refers to the political unit of main village and outlying parts, including Udenaha and Izena, most references in this study pertain only to the central community. Its 60 households, with about 330 individuals, form the primary social unit from which the sample of 24 children was chosen.

Central Taira nestles along the inner shore of Taira Bay, which opens into the Pacific Ocean. At this point the median range mountains recede from the coastline. Behind the village, rice paddies spread in a crazed pattern at the bottom and on the terraced sides of several valleys which are separated from each other by sparsely wooded hills. Here and there the red earth of an eroded section shows like a scab through the green slopes.

In traveling by road from the south, most people choose the highway along the East China Sea coast, which is connected with the road which crosses the island. Higashi township is entered through a low saddle in the mountains which separate the two coastlines. To the right and left begins Taira's forest. Central Taira is reached through a winding lane bordered by pine trees. To the left the view opens into one of the neatly cultivated rice fields, backed by the hills on whose flat tops and terraced sides village people cultivate their farm lands.

The central village itself lies on a sand bluff, separating the valley from the ocean, so that there is a slight drop toward both sides (see map 2). The main road runs the length of the village. Except for the thoroughfare, which is dirt and gravel, the side roads are not surfaced, and after heavy rains puddles form and remain for more than a day, to the delight of children who play in them.

When Taira was destroyed during World War II, along with its houses went much of the foliage which once served as a windbreak. A few fukugi trees * line the main street, and hibiscus hedges here and there hide some of the houses from a first inspection. There are bushes around the edges of the village.

The war-time destruction is hardly apparent on a first walk through the village. Along the main street, lined by houses, one finds the rice mill, a substantial new building of concrete and wood, the police sta-

* A small- to medium-sized evergreen tree with a narrow, upright, very dark green crown of leaves.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 377]

161 The percentage growth categories used on Map 6 are as follows:

Negative Growth
Less than Okinawa Average of 22% Growth
23-39% Growth
40-100% Growth
Over 100% Growth

Population Increase During 1951 and 1952 The accelerated military construction program has been quite important in drawing people to the main island of Okinawa. This is shown by the fact that in the years 1951 and 1952 it gained over 47,000 inhabitants. More than 11,000 of these were contractors and construction workers from Japan. About 2,300 more such workers arrived from Japan in the first seven months of 1953.[1]

161 During this two year period, Okinawa's population increased by 5.55%. On Map 7 all areas with an increase of less than that amount are considered as areas of emigration. Those areas where the increase was more than 5.55% are shown as areas of immigration.

All urban areas except Ishikawa continued to grow. Goeku and Kadena, which had in the previous decade grown amazingly fast, continued to be among the fastest-growing 'son' on the island. On the other hand, Kunigami-son and the entire east coast north of Ishikawa City reversed the trend of growth noted on Map 6, and became areas of excessive migration. In part this was due to the improvement of roads along the east coast, thus making the urban trek easier. But it owed just as much to the demand for skilled carpenters, who were abundant along the east coast.

If data were available at the 'aza', or village area level, the urban trend could be localized with greater accuracy. Military government personnel concerned with problems on the island relative to urbanization and its pace are advised to work with population data on the village ('aza' or 'ku') level if greater accuracy is desired. This information is rarely if ever presented in that detailed form to agencies of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands, and local inquiry must be made.

162 The Sex Ratio Okinawa shares with most of the Orient a great density of population per arable acre of land. Aside from this, the outstanding fact about the population of Okinawa is the great preponderance of women over men. There are about 90 men for every 100 women in this area.[2] This excess of women is reflected in such sociological phenomena as prostitution, illegitimate and common law children, women functioning as heads of households, and a high fertility ratio. The reasons for the excess are somewhat complex, but the most important factor is the recent war, in which many

1 CAARI, p. 78.

2 The standard demographic definition of sex ratio is "the number of men for each 100 women."

more men than women were killed. The second reason is the fact that in Okinawa, as in most of the rest of the world, women tend to live longer than men.[1] 162 [165]

The prewar sex ratio was somewhat lower, but this condition was primarily caused by the absence of so many men in the military forces and in Japanese industry. The Navy handbook[2] states the following:

> The sex ratio for the archipelago in 1940 was 112 women to 100 men. In Japan Proper in 1939 the comparable ratio was 101 men to 100 women....The two most heavily populated islands---Okinawa and Amami---had sex ratios of 115 and 117 women to 100 men, respectively.

Using the standard demographic definition of sex ratio, this would indicate a sex ratio of 89.2 for the Ryukyus as a whole, and ratios of 87 and 85.5 for Okinawa and Amami in that order.

Although the population section of this report will deal in great part with the analysis of population in one rural 'son', it is of value to examine first the more general picture, so that the detailed facts may be seen in relation to their setting. The number of people in the average household, with masculine-feminine breakdown, and the sex ratio are the most important items for general analysis. The data for several areas, valid as of 31 December 1952, are shown below:[3]

Table I

Political Area	Average Number of Men per Household	Average Number of Women per Household	Average Number of Persons per Household	Sex Ratio
Ryukyus (excluding reverted Amami Oshima)	2.37	2.59	4.96	91.5
Okinawa Guntō	2.27	2.51	4.78	90.5
Naha	2.10	2.30	4.41	92.7
Wawashi	2.46	2.39	4.85	103.0
Naha-Wawashi	2.28	2.34	4.62	98.8
Kochinda-son	2.07	2.24	4.31	92.5

Although there is not much difference in the sex ratio of Okinawa and the Ryukyus as a whole, it appears that there are more persons, both men and women, per household in the southern islands than in Okinawa. Again

1 T. Lynn Smith, Population Analysis, McGraw-Hill, NY, 1948. Tables pp. 252-4.

2 Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, OPNAV 13-31, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Navy Department, 15 November 1944, xiv-334 pp. Statement, page 51.

3 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku (Monthly Statistics of the Ryukyu Islands) Vol. 3, no. 3, 1953, passim.

162 this may be the result of the war; the southern islands escaped heavy damage and loss of life. The urban area of Naha-Mawashi has a well-balanced sex ratio, and is probably a reflection of the number of men who directly or indirectly are connected with military employment.

The total number of persons per household has not appreciably changed in the fifteen years from 1937 to 1952:

Table Ia

Political Unit	Persons per Household, 1937	Persons per HH, 1952
Okinawa-ken	4.67	4.70
Naha	4.21	4.41
Shuri	4.18	4.17

The loss of men in the war was compensated for by those men who returned from Japan and those who repatriated from the Mandated Islands.

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2. Population Characteristics of a Rural 'Son'

Kochinda-son lies almost in the center of the southern section of Shimajiri. It does not border anywhere on the sea, and is entirely rural in that it has no industries of urban character. It is realized that no one area will be entirely typical of the whole of Okinawa; however, the population dynamics of this 'son' will undoubtedly be reflected in kind, if not in degree, by that of other farming areas. Fishing towns such as Itoman, Benza, Yakena and Yonabaru each probably have special types of adjustments that are not true of Kochinda.

[127] This researcher was permitted to copy the entire 'koseki' (population register) of Kochinda-son. In addition explanatory information was given by the 'son' office personnel when requested. In many cases it was possible to follow up and interview persons cognizant of the details of certain situations.

121 16

[428] [178] [177] Okinawa still follows the prewar Japanese system of inheritance by first sons. Under normal conditions in the countryside, the first sons would inherit the bulk of the farm plots, and second sons would inherit a few plots and set up separate households. Or the second and following sons might go to Naha, Osaka or the south seas to seek employment. The war disrupted this pattern, and it is germane to examine the types and numbers of household heads, as one index of postwar change.

Because the solution of the population problem is a factor in Civil Administration planing for Okinawa, it is of importance to know the fertility ratio and the amount of spacing between births. The Okinawans, like the Japanese, tend to register a marriage after the birth of the first child. This should be quantified if possible. In addition, age at marriage should be known, since it bears a direct relationship to population increase. The number of illegitimate and common law children in the villages indicates

[Kochinda-son]

something as to the attitudes toward marriage, the family, and sexual mores of the inhabitants. Study of divorce also helps to illuminate the dynamics of a population. All of these categories are discussed below.

Types of Household Heads All the households in Kochinda-son were classified into seven categories. Where possible this was done on the basis of the relationship of the present household head to the former household head. Table II shows the percentage of households in each category.

Table II

Category	Percentage of Households
First Sons	41.7
Second Sons	17.8
Third Sons	9.3
Other Sons (Sons of Fourth Order and above, and adopted sons, or 'yōshi')	7.4
Other Types (Younger Brother, etc.)	2.1
Grandsons	1.8
Women	19.9
All Types	100.00

The really surprising fact shown above is the number of women household heads, almost one in five. The percentage of households headed by first, second and third sons is probably not far from the prewar norm. However, within the families of each class of household head, conditions vary widely. Table III brings out the disparities of membership in families headed by the various types of household heads.

Table III

Type of Household Head	Average Males per Household	Average Females per Household	Average Persons per HH	Sex Ratio
First Sons	2.93	3.04	5.97	96.5
Second Sons	2.91	2.63	5.54	110.9
Third Sons	2.76	2.73	5.49	103.3
Other Sons	2.46	2.67	5.13	92.3
Other Types	2.16	2.09	4.25	103.1
Grandsons	2.49	2.51	5.00	98.9
Women	1.14	2.20	3.34	52.1

First Sons Frequent reference is made in Okinawa to the "heavy burden of being a first son." The large number of women per household in that category of household head bears out this assertion. If a first son assumes the duties as traditional head of the family, his mother and grandmother most likely will live with him after their spouses are dead. He must also assume responsibility for all unmarried younger sisters, as well as take care of any older sisters who become divorced. The "heavy role of

[Koohinda-son]

first son" is graphically depicted by the third column in Table III. If the 6.5% of the households that contain no women are eliminated, the "average females per household" index rises to 3.25 in this category.

Second Sons There are two possible reasons for the high sex ratio in households headed by second sons. The sons of second sons may tend to marry later than do sons of first sons, because the land they may inherit is generally smaller in area, and they want time to hunt work in the cities. The daughters of second sons marry earlier for the reason that their fathers have less land to contribute to their support past adolescence.

The high sex ratio is still rather hard to understand, however. If we eliminate the twelve cases where the male household head is the only person in that household, the sex ratio becomes 109.0. If we eliminate all households without women, the sex ratio drops to 107.0. This means that there are considerable households where two or more males constitute the only inhabitants. This was true in eleven cases. Even more frequent are the cases where two males and one female constitute the household.

If the same operation, elimination of all-male households, is carried out on the data for households headed by first sons, the sex ratio drops to 93.0. Hence we see that however the figures are interpreted, first sons do have a greater burden and more women to care for.

Grandsons Grandsons of former household heads were household heads in 37 cases. In four of these cases the grandfather was still living but considered himself too old (68, 71, 76, and 89 years) to manage the family's affairs. In sixteen cases the mother of the household head was living. In one case both mother and grandmother were living, and in another both paternal grandparents were living. In only one case was the father of a household head living---and he was adopted husband, or 'yōshi', in another household. In all cases the inheritance has passed directly from the grandfather to grandson.

Other Sons Sons of fourth order and above, adopted sons ('yōshi'), and those whose birth order was not recorded, constitute the heads of 154 households. Fourteen of these are 'yōshi', whose birth orders in their family of orientation were:

First Sons	2
Second Sons	8
Third Sons	2
Fourth Sons	1
Unrecorded	1
Total 'yōshi'	14

[Kochinda-son]

The birth orders of the remaining 140 household heads were:

Fourth Sons	89
Fifth Sons	28
Sixth Sons	8
Seventh Sons	1
Unrecorded	14
Total non-'yōshi'	140

Here can be seen the expectable tendency to put one's second son up for adoption, rather than a first son. Usually a relative, a person at least in the same munchu, will adopt.

Other Types In the 43 cases comprising the category of other types of household head, such as younger brother, and miscellaneous, there were 18 cases of "no relationship stated." There were 16 cases of younger brother, four cases of nephew, three illegitimate sons and two common law sons.[1]

Women A study of the women household heads category is most rewarding. No doubt most of the cases are the result of the war. However, a small percentage of widows and girl orphans would normally comprise this category. Not surprisingly, the sex ratio of 52.1 is the lowest of any category. There were 84 cases of women living alone. In seven of these cases the persons were under 21 years of age as of December 31, 1953.[2] If the 84 cases are eliminated and the data recomputed, the results are as follows:

Table IV

Average Number of Persons per Household	3.93
Average Number of Males per Household	1.43
Average Number of Females per Household	2.50
Sex Ratio	57.3

If the data are recomputed by eliminating the women household heads themselves, the results are as follows:

Table V

Average Number of Persons per Household	2.34
Average Number of Males per Household	1.43
Average Number of Females per Household	2.50
Sex Ratio	95.3

Both Table IV and Table V show a preponderance of women. One explanation is that a widow and her deceased husband's mother often live together.

1 See definitions of "illegitimate" and "common law" on pp. 111-112.

2 Unless otherwise stated, the datum point in this report for all population categories in Kochinda-son is December 31, 1953.

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162 592 [848] This is true in 32 cases, or 9.54% of the households in this category containing more than one person. Another reason is that of the illegitimate children born to women household heads, more boy babies are registered as legal children by their fathers than is the case with girl babies. Of the illegitimates living in households headed by women, 19 were female, 11 were male, and an additional seven were in the class "sex unrecorded". If the same proportion are girls as is true of "common law children", this would indicate a surplus of illegitimate females.[1]

Additional Three other categories relating to household head status were analyzed. The data were cross-filed from the above categories. There were sixty-seven cases of father or grandfather not functioning as household head, but living. Or in other words, retirement of males. Persons under twenty-one years of age functioning as household heads were counted, as were household heads living alone.

162 592 886 1. Retirement: In the category of retired fathers or grandfathers, we find that in 59 of the 67 cases retirement was in favor of a first son. In seven cases retirement was in favor of a grandchild first son, and in one instance in favor of a son's wife. The ages of the retired oldsters ran from 51 to 87, with 33 of the 67 instances being between the ages of 60 to 70 inclusive. The median age was 65, and the average age was roughly 66.5.

162 592 597 2. Living Alone: In the second additional category, household heads living alone, we find 166 cases. Thirty of these cases, or 16%, were orphans under twenty-one years of age. Twenty-two of these were male and eight female, thus showing a greater tendency for female orphans to be adopted. Male orphans are not often adopted, because relatives want them to grow up to be the heads of their deceased fathers' households.

162 592 With regard to division by sex, 89 were males. Of these, 21, or 24%, were born before 1900. Of the 77 females, 39 (51%) were born before 1900, thus giving another instance of the longevity of women.

3. Minors: In the third supplementary category of minor household heads, the mother was living in 79 instances and deceased in 59 instances. One father and four grandfathers were still living, but retired. In all these five cases the mother was also still living. There was an overwhelming tendency for the first son to be household head, followed by second sons and first daughters equally. The full range is shown below:

Table VI

First Sons	110	Fifth Sons	1
Second Sons	11	Second Daughters	1
First Daughters	11	Common Law (boy)	1
Third Sons	5	Illegitimate (girl)	1
Fourth Sons	2	Adopted Son[2]	1
Sons, Unknown Birth Order	2		
Total			148

1 Refer to "Common Law Children---Numbers", p. 112.

2 This boy's birth order was second son in his family of orientation.

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The distribution by ages, which ranged from four to twenty, is shown below: 162 592

Table VII

Age	Persons	Age	Persons	Age	Persons
4	3	9	8	15	15
5	4	10	9	16	9
6	-	11	3	17	13
7	2	12	5	18	16
8	2	13	9	19	13
		14	15	20	22

Thirty-two orphans were household heads and legally living alone, although in actuality most of them probably resided in houses of relatives. Five more were orphans, although in each case another person of the same sex lived with them.

Even though only thirteen, or 8.8%, of the 148 minor household heads were female, there was a large excess of women in these households. This is accounted for mainly by the aforementioned 79 households, 53.5% of the total, where the mother of the legal but minor household head is still living. For the category as a whole there is an average of about three persons per household:

Table VIII

Average Persons per household	2.98
Average Men per Household	1.34
Average Women per Household	1.64
Sex Ratio	81.5

In the thirteen households that were headed by minor females, twelve consisted only of women. The other household consisted of a fifteen-year-old girl and her two younger brothers of ten and twelve years of age.

Fertility, the Birth Rate, and Birth Control The most widely known but least accurate measure of fertility 163 171 is the crude birth rate, defined as the number of births per year for each thousand persons in the total population. The crude birth rate for Okinawa Guntō in 1952 was 34.2---less than the rate in the United States in 1890---while the rate for Kochinda-son was 38.1 in the same year. Japan's crude birth rate in 1938 was 27.0, and had increased to 32.8 by 1949. This differential is not surprising in view of the somewhat greater urbanization and consequent slightly lesser frequency of births in the main islands. The prefecture which most closely resembles Okinawa---Kagoshima---is less urbanized and had the higher-than-Okinawa rate of 35.4 in 1949. As of 30 June 1953 the birth rate was 32.2 for the Ryukyus, including the Amami group, and was 34.9 for Okinawa Guntō.[1]

[1] Pacific Stars and Stripes, 8 Feb 1954. Figures were released on numbers of births and deaths, and total population, by the Public Health Dept. of USCAR.

'Koseki' Changes The present 'koseki'---those used when this SIRI team visited Okinawa---are temporary ones set up about 1948. In some very few areas 'koseki' remain from before the war. Registration in the 'koseki' is not automatic when an individual or family moves into a community. Hence there may even be persons who have bought houselots in a village, rented land there and raised crops---without ever having contacted the 'son' office for change of 'koseki'. Three such instances were observed in Nanahan. Areas such as Goeku-son and the Naha-Mawashi area, which contain many "floaters", may actually have a much larger population than is reported in the census figures. 161 217

'Koseki' Inaccuracies The present 'koseki' not only does not contain information on 'museki' persons, but it is often very far behind---sometimes as much as two years---in recording the movement of persons and families out of the villages and into urban centers.

Because old 'koseki' were for the most part destroyed, information on birthdates is very often inaccurate. The Kochinda 'koseki', for example, is full of requests for changes in birthdates, changes ostensibly sought on the basis of more accurate family records recently discovered or assembled. However, some changes may conceivably be sought in order deliberately to misrepresent one's age to a Company or to the military. Also, the possibility should not be ruled out that some persons change their recorded birthdate in order to bring about a change in their luck. [277]

Accuracy of Kochinda-son Data The statistics on household heads presented above represents the total number of people registered in the Kochinda 'koseki'. It does not take into consideration those persons and families who are recorded as having temporarily moved elsewhere. 217 162 592

Many people in Kochinda who have moved to the city have failed to record that fact in the 'koseki'. Many times this is attributable to apathy and poverty, but may often involve the matter of pride in having one's record in the same 'koseki' as one's close relatives. There is an additional factor at work: most Okinawans realize that the present urban trend brought about by the presence of the military is a temporary phenomenon, and they fully expect to return to the village in event of a lessening of urban opportunities. Thus Okinawa follows the Japanese pattern---by tightening their belts and working a little harder, the farmers can always make their plots feed an additional mouth until some adjustment can be made. [369] [829]

Hence the Kochinda statistics as presented above represent some 2,000 household heads and some 10,000 persons, rather than the census count of some 8,500 persons and 1,970 household heads.

The New 'Koseki' Early in 1954 the Government of the Ryukyu Islands ordered a new 'koseki' to be compiled. It will no doubt be more complete in most respects than is the temporary 'koseki'. The demand for a new 'koseki' came about chiefly because Japanese governmental pension agencies 217 [648]